

TERRORISM BETWEEN JAMAT-E-ISLAMI AND MQM



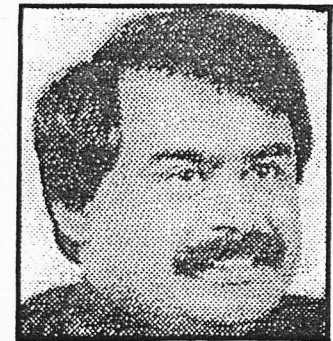
Qazi Hussain Ahmed



Ehsan Ahmed Ansari



Abdul Baseer



Altaf Hussain

Jamat-e-Islam is the part of Islami Jamboori Itehad (IJI) headed by Nawaz Sharif while MQM is the chief agent of Ishaq Khan in Sindh supporting the Government of Jam Sadiq Ali on behalf of Ishaq Khan. However terrorism between Jamat-e-Islam & MQM in Karachi is in progress, in which dozens of supporters of both groups have been seriously injured in different colleges and some important persons have been killed. The tussle between the two groups might result in the separation of Jamat-e-Islami from IJI because Nawaz Sharif cannot take risk to take action against MQM as it would annoy Mr. Ishaq Khan which would be fatal for his Government.

It is alleged that the MQM have murdered Mr. Abdul Basir and Mr. Ehsan Ahmed Ansari, the members of Jamiat. The details of the two murdered persons are very shocking and the same can be summarised as under:

Murder of Ehsan Ahmad Ansari:

He was the student of Second year in Jamia-Milia Malir. He was kidnapped at about 2200 hours 4th August by the MQM terrorists and was tortured in the torture cell of the MQM, as alleged by Jamat-e-Islami and after the death due to torture, his body was thrown near Eid-gah situated near Airport, Karachi. His body had cuts with sharp-edged weapons. His bones were broken and bullets were fired in the arms and legs. The internal organs of the body were taken out of the body. The flesh of the body was cut and taken away from its different parts. At the time of his burial and Namaz-e-Janaza the slogans raised by the workers of Jamat-e-Islami were showing their hatred against the ruling party/group of Pakistan. The

main demand of the workers was that Jamat-e-Islami must leave IJI and Mian Nawaz Sharif because IJI is the murderer of Jamiat, and Altaf Hussain of MQM is the chief murderer of Jamiat. After the burial of the dead-body of Ehsan Ahmad Ansari, Mr.

Liaquat Bluch addressed a press-conference and pointed out that during the last seven months nine main persons of Jamat-e-Islami have been murdered in Karachi and several have been seriously injured while hundreds have been taken out of their houses and tortured. Syed Munawar Hassan had threatened on the murder of Ehsan Ahmad Ansari that his death would be very costly for the people of MQM. On the other-hand, the Chairman of MQM Mr. Azim Ahmad Tariq treated this murder an ordinary tussle between the students. It is notable that at the time of murder of Ehsan Ahmad Ansari his father was not at Karachi and he returned from Hajj two days after the death of his son. His another son Mr. Rehan Ahmad Ansari was saved from MQM who wanted to kidnap him also. He is the

student of 1st Years. Another student namely Amin Abbas of the same institution have also been killed. It is alleged that he belonged to the anti-MQM group of Afaq and Amir Khan, hence Pro Altaf/Jam Group could not tolerate him.

Murder of Abdul Baseer:

Soon after the murder of Ehsan Ahmad Ansari Mr. Abdul Baseer was also killed. At about 2200 hours the door of his house was knocked by three armed persons and asked about his brother namely Abdul Waasai. Mr. Abdul Basir came out of his house and he was taken away in the nearest street where he was fired at. His injured-body was taken to the hospital, however his life could not be saved. The father of the deceased lodged the FIR in Police Station Sharah-e-Faisal Colony against Nooman Zaidi, Nayyer Abdullah and one Hamid who belong to MQM. None of the murderers have been arrested till date as alleged by Jamat-e-Islami and its students Organisation i.e. Jamiat. Most of the students killed or injured during August 1991 are urdu-speaking and therefore the Urdu-

speaking community in Karachi is now seriously thinking what has been given by the MQM and Jamat-e-Islami to them except the dead-bodies of their children. It is strange that Jam-Sadiq Ali have not advised them to put the allegation of these murders on PPP

and Al-zulfikar by saying that PPP workers have done these murders to create rift between Jamat-e-Islami and MQM as a conspiracy against Nawaz-Ishaq Government.

Murder of Qadeer Qureshi
He was the Deputy Director Taxes of water Board, Zonal Incharge of MQM as well as member of Central Office Committee. He died on Wednesday, 28th August 1991 in a hospital after being seriously injured due to firing in North Nazimabad Karachi and was under treatment in the Hospital for about three days. His death has shaken the workers of MQM. He belonged to a poor family. He was 34 years old and was married 6 years ago. He has left behind one widow, one son, one daughter, mother, three brothers, two sisters and was the only supporter of his family MQM has alleged the students of Jamat-e-Islami to be the murderer of Qadeer Qureshi.

Press clipping from "The Frontier Post"
Dated: October 22, 1992.

Bhatta: MQM used to collect Rs. 1b annually

F.P. Bureau Report

KARACHI, Oct. 21: About Rs. one billion annually used to be collected forcibly as bhatta reportedly by MQM terrorists from the people engaged in different professions belonging to all the ethnic communities of all the three districts of Karachi before 19th June, 1992 — when real crack-down against MQM terrorists started in the metropolitan according to the official circles.

The district-wise break-up of the bhatta collected by MQM terrorists per month as released by the official circles on Wednesday is as under. District South: Rs. 17.83 lakh per month from small shopkeepers at the rate of Rs. 100 per shop, Rs. 25.92 lakh per month from 12,961 middle class shopkeepers at the rate of Rs. 200 per head, Rs. 28.32 lakh per month from 9440 big shopkeepers at the rate of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 per head, Rs. 2.66 lakh per month from 5334 Patharwala/hawkers at the rate of Rs. 50 per head, Rs. 27,500 per month from 55 petrol pumps at the rate of Rs. 500 per petrol pump, Rs. 10,000 per month from each owner of big industries Rs. 13.05 lakh per month from 261 small industries at the rate of Rs. 5000 per industry, Rs. 2.65 crore per month from 26,5066 small homes at the rate of Rs. 100 per home, Rs. 2.65 crore per month from 13,2958 middle class homes at the rate of Rs. 200 per home, Rs. 65,000 per month from 650 mini buses at the rate of Rs. 100 per mini bus, Rs. 1.64 lakh per month from 1645 taxis at the rate of Rs. 100 per taxi and Rs. 2.77 lakh per month from 2772 rickshaws at the rate of Rs. 100 per rickshaw.

District central: Rs. 40 lakh per

month from 20,000 small shops at the rate of Rs. 200 per small shop, Rs. 18 lakh from 6000 medium shops at the rate of Rs. 300 per shop, Rs. 10 lakh from 2000 big shops at the rate of Rs. 500 per shop, Rs. 50,000 per month from 2000 hawkers at the rate of Rs. 25 per hawkers, Rs. 12,000 per month from 24 petrol pumps at the rate of Rs. 500 per petrol pump, Rs. 40,000 per month from 40 big industries at the rate of Rs. 1000 per unit, Rs. 200 lakh per month from 400 small industries at the rate of Rs. 500 per unit, Rs. 81,00 lakh per month from 16,2000 medium houses at the rate of Rs. 50 per house, Rs. 2,000 lakh per month from 8000 small houses at the rate of Rs. 25 per house, Rs. 2.4 lakh per month from 24000 Mazda mini-buses at the rate of Rs. 100 per taxi, Rs. 1.80 lakh per month from 12,000 rickshaw and private vehicles at the rate of Rs. 15 per vehicle and Rs. 40,000 per month from 800 gardeners and sweepers at the rate of Rs. 50 per head.

District east: Rs. 4 lakh per month from Lines Area predominantly a Mohajir area having the population of about six lakh, Rs. 1,50,000 per month from 194000 Mohajirs, 13,000 Kachhis, 14,500 Sindhis, 12,200, Balochs, 800 Pathans and 500 Punjabis living in Malir extension area, Rs. 400,000 per month from 3,00,000 Mohajirs, 6000 Punjabis, 9000 Sindhis living in Malir Colony, Rs. 2,00,000 per month from 31,000 Mohajirs, 49,000 Punjabis, 24,000 Sindhis, 24,000 Pathans and 2,000 non-Muslims living in Saudabad and Rs. 2,50,000 per month from 50,000 Mohajirs, 50,000 Punjabis, 25,000 Pathans and 25,000 Sindhis living in Model Colony.

Press clipping from "The Frontier Post"

Dated: July 24, 1992.

NBP contributed Rs. 1b to MQM mega-finance

From M. Ilyas Khan

KARACHI, July 23: After Pakistan Steel Mills, the second major corporate source of MQM's mega-finance was the National Bank of Pakistan (NBP), which contributed cash and services worth one billion rupees to the dreaded organisation during 1991-92 alone.

An official, who spoke on condition of anonymity said that over the past one year, the recorded irregularities of the MQM in the NBP alone would account for one billion rupees. Bunglings of which there was no evidence, or whose trail has been swept clean, would amount to much more.

Recently a law-enforcing agency raided various departments of the NBP, and took away records with a view to probe into MQM excesses in the bank. But senior bank executives told *The Frontier Post* they would find nothing of substance in those records as most of the evidence had already been destroyed by of-

ficials of MQM (labour wing) associated with the bank.

These executives said that the NBP branches all over Karachi had become the fief of the MQM. Not only was a substantial part of the MQM fighting force employed in these branches, but also the bank served as one of the MQM's major sources of monthly contributions.

A highly placed source told *The Frontier Post* that city-wide collections on the basis of forged vouchers drawn against petrol and conveyance charges by the MQM labour wing, at time ran into eight figures for a single day. No payment demand has ever been so readily complied with by a bank anywhere in the world, the source added.

Besides, MQM units which existed in every branch of the bank in the metropolis had fixed rates on all insurance covering the loans released by the respective branches. These rates were paid in cash to the unit officials every-

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Rs. 1b to MQM

Continued from page 1

time the insurance payments were made. Delay meant trouble, so these payments were never held up. As a result the insurance concerns covering bank loans have been suffering from severe financial constraint.

In terms of employment, the MQM got over 700 of its hardcore activists employed in the NBP on daily-wage as well as on contract basis. The funny part of the deal was that though these were not regular employees of the

bank, but they were entitled to all service facilities including soft loans.

MQM (labour wing) officials beat up several senior executives of NBP in connection with getting this fighting force regularised in service. At least one such executive is known to have lodged an FIR with the police.

Since the beginning of the army operation, MQM (labour wing) and unit officials are missing. It is surprising, however, that senior bank executives are still reluctant to talk about the exploits of the MQM.

Press clipping from "The Frontier Post"

Dated: July 28, 1992.

MQM torture, killings, sabotage

From Imdad Chandio

KARACHI, July 27: Moham-mad Zaki, an under training, ASI of the police department, who was arrested by a law-enforcing agency on June 28, has made startling disclosures during interrogation, official sources told *The Frontier Post* her.

According to sources Zaki confessed his participation and collaboration in running torture cells, killings of the MQM dissidents and a Sindhi doctor, setting on fire property of Sindhie, government and private vehicles and other terrorist activities.

According to details, Zaki is an ex Pakistan Air-Force employee and was discharged from service on account of his long a absence from duty before to 1985 elections. He joined the MQM in 1988 and was active till the time of his arrest. He confessed that he was informed by unit incharge Abdul Majid that he had received directions from sector office that next day agitation would be observed in the whole city and we had to block the roads and if any vehicle came out it should be burnt. At that time Nacent, Majid, Mehmood, Hanif, Shahid, Majid, Chand, Awais, Kamran,

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Rambler's Diary

Diplomats upset by car snatching

IT WAS not a war council, rather a gathering of agitated diplomats. The consul generals in Karachi had assembled at the residence of the Saudi Arab consul general Bakr Gazzaz, doyen of the consular corps, to discuss the problem of car snatching. About a dozen cars have so far been snatched from them in recent months and they were fearing more will be snatched in the future.

The Saudi, Turkish, British, Chinese and Indonesian diplomats were among those who had lost their cars to armed men on the road. The Saudis have had two cars snatched from them. Not all the vehicles were insured.

Earlier the car snatchers had confined themselves to the vehicles of Pakistanis. The foreigners were targeted after that, and now diplomats too are falling victim in increasing numbers.

Robberies too are on the rise in the houses of diplomats. The home of German consul Juergen Pengal was robbed of everything valuable by armed robbers recently. And last week the house of a Bangladesh consulate staffer was robbed. The lady of the house opened the door in the evening to a knock, presuming her children who had gone out to play had returned. Instead, armed robbers walked in and grabbed everything they could lay their hands on. Several other diplomatic robberies in the diplomats' homes are reported.

The diplomats who met last week wanted the government to help and urged the Foreign Office through its Karachi camp office, to act.

If such moves yield no results, it would not be surprising if they take up the issue with the Corps Commander Lt. Gen. Naseer Akhtar. The army is still busy with its duties in the city. They are also seeking the help of the Citizen Police Liaison Committee. In fact its chief Nasim Haji and his deputy Jamil Yusuf were invited to many diplomatic parties before incidents of car snatching took place.

Some officials say car snatching is not unusual around the world. Cars are snatched and persons mugged in New York as well, they argue. And a diplomat says that he won't mind a car being snatched in New York which has so much to offer, including cheap cars, but not in Karachi which has so little to offer. Karachi offers relatively cheap servants but they are not competent any more and could no longer be trusted, he laments. Not only diplomats but the people too are told by the police and other officials that there are crimes all over the world, including the West. But surely the police there is more efficient and seldom involved in crime themselves. Though the police is getting better equipment day by day the results are getting worse here.

Some diplomats believe that if they and the general public did not have the same yellow number plates as has been the case since 1989, few diplomatic cars would

have been snatched. It is time for a change so that car snatchers can distinguish between cars owned by diplomats and those by the general public.

One consul general said, "My car is insured but not the van we lost. I did not think anyone would want to seize the van as well".

Diplomats do not insure some of their less expensive cars as they are tax-free. May be they will insure their cars more regularly now despite the rising cost of insurance. Oktoberfest

In Germany the traditional Oktoberfest in Bavaria in the south is famous for its fun and frolic, its beer drinking and street dancing in gay colours. Compared to that the

liar, following the withdrawal of other candidates. Will he now make it to the Sindh cabinet? It remains to be seen.

Naved Qamar, MNA, who has become a member of the task force set up by the Prime Minister on agricultural income tax was also present. Will he support the tax? His father Qamaruzzaman Shah, president of the Sindh Agricultural Chamber, is certainly opposed to any such tax. He wants more for the agriculturists from the government and not more from the zamindars to the government.

Javed Jabbar has returned to the PPP fold. He is hoping to return to the Senate in March on a PPP ticket when mid-term elections to



NATIONAL FUNCTION: Turkish consul general and his wife with guests

Oktoberfest celebrations at the colourfully decorated residence of the German consul general Christian Nakonz and his wife Shirin with Detlef Willrodt, the German general manager of Avari Towers as co-host was less spectacular but surely exuberant enough. Lufthansa flew in beer barrels from Germany to give the authentic Oktoberfest touch to the Germans who were predominantly there.

Not only were chiefs of German companies like Helmut Matchulat of Bayer and BASF's Kurt Michel Wolf there, but also H.J. Hemmen of the Netherlands who heads Lever Brothers and W.S. Zerr of Sandoz who is a Swiss, and Cynanid's Suby Jarudi, who is an American.

Commercial builder Farook Hasan, who is also the chairman of Pak Tel, was there trying his best to raise funds for the new and active Concerned Citizens Association, which is doing good work.

Makhdoom Rafiq had that day filed his nomination paper for the Sindh Assembly seat vacated by elder brother Amin Fahim, but had not received the PPP ticket till then. The party co-chairperson was believed to have given preference to the young Jamil, son of Amin Fahim, who retained his father's NA seat for the Sindh Assembly, which upset Rafiq, former Sindh Home Minister. But now Rafiq has won uncontested, in the same manner as elder brother Amin did ear-

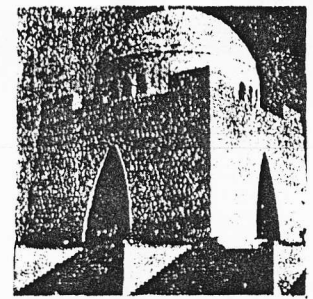
lier, following the withdrawal of other candidates. Will he now make it to the Sindh cabinet? It remains to be seen.

Byram Avari was dancing away the night as his hotel which provided the food, was the co-host. He had just returned from Tashkent and was packing again for another trip.

Consul Stefan Keil of Germany and his wife were having their last Oktoberfest dance in Karachi as they are leaving for Geneva. They are Bavarians and said Oktoberfest was usually celebrated in Bavaria in September. It got delayed here as the German reunification celebrations had intervened, but was otherwise just as colourful with a full moon above and gleaming water by the side and a large variety of cheese and brown and black bread flown in from Germany.

Turkish day

A large army and naval presence is always conspicuous at the Turkish national functions. That is because of the abiding friendship between Pakistan and Turkey and the fact that the father of modern Turkey, Kamal Ata Turk was a military commander. So when the popular consul general Ergun Ulku and his beautiful wife held a reception to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the birth of the Turkish Republic, Corps Commander Lt. Gen. Naseer Akhtar and a large number of army and naval officials were prominent there. He and the



young Speaker of the Sindh Assembly, Ghous Baksh Mehr jointly cut the large cake in the Durbar Hall of Hotel Sheraton with a large crowd, applauding them.

Governor Hakim Said was expected but could not make it despite his excellent connections with Turkey. A day earlier, he had obtained nomination papers for the presidential election. Guests presumed he was busy filing his nomination or consulting his friends and advisors.

Caretaker Minister for Information Hakim Ahsan was there and was asked by guests whether, Hakim Said was really trying for the President's office. "That is one thing in which he did not consult me", said Hakim Ahsan. Anyway it was just a rumour and the governor was not among the 27 persons who filed their nomination papers for the president's office.

Guests were asking Sherbaz Mazari whether he would really be contesting the presidential elections. His National Democratic Party had decided a day before to nominate him for that office. He said he would not. Anyway, he did not want to contest against elder brother Balakh Sher Mazari who was then among the serious candidates. If he had contested the election, he would have been the only one to do so.

He had contested the presidential election in 1972, against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, on behalf of the opposition and secured an impressive 52 votes against Bhutto's hundred — in those days, the NA was really very small.

Former foreign secretary Agha Hilaly was there trying to ascertain who was likely to win the presidential elections.

Akbar Hashwani, president of the Cotton Association, president of the Karachi Chamber Haroon Rashid, and senior vice president, Ebrahim Panwala were among the businessmen there.

Javed Anwar of Pakistan Oxygen was being congratulated by some guests as his shares were soaring in the shares market, which was only second to the highest, PSO. Pakistan Oxygen it appears gives nine bonuses in a year to its workers. Nice place to work, isn't it?

Some very pretty Turkish Airlines hostesses in their uniforms and a considerable number of Turkish students were at the party, and were eager to get photographed with the hosts.

Masuma Hasan

When Haroon Ahmad gave a lunch to celebrate the elevation of Masuma Hasan, chief of NIPA, to

grade 22, I presumed he would be speaking about her virtues as an officer and person. Instead, he urged her as president of the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs to hold elections and bring democracy to the PIIA. That was exactly what she wanted, she said, and added that an ordinance for that purpose had ultimately reached the President's table. This announcement was cheered by the guests.

Frontier Post

SUNDAY JUNE 21, 1992 ZILHAJ 19, 1412

LAHORE

NATIONAL DAIL

Dissidents lead the swoop on MQM

—capture biggest MQM torture cell where 50 men were butchered, recover 40 kalashnikovs, 15,000 live cartridges

From Ilyas Khan and Dr. Ayoub Shaik in Karachi

KARACHI, June 20: Following the clashes of two rival groups of MQM in metropolis on Friday, the dissidents have recovered about 40 kalashnikovs along with 12 to 15 thousands live cartridges from the houses of MQM workers who fought for three hours and then fled away from the area.

All the recovered kalashnikovs have been handed over to the Rangers patrolling in the area.

The disclosure was made by Mansoor 'Chacha', a well-known leader of the rebels and former sector in-charge of Lines Area here on Saturday. He was giving details of Friday's "showdown".

Addressing a press conference, he disclosed that the "venue" was famous as "Quarter No. 87 and

88" and the biggest-ever "torture cell" made by the MQM to punish their opponents. He said that in the cell, which was called in the MQM terminology "jail", about 50 people were murdered, including the 10 from Lines Area. He said at least 50 FIRs had been registered against the absconding sector in-charge of Lines Areas, namely Javed councillor, so far.

He maintained that it was the cell where faces of many youngsters were disfigured by pouring acid on them and making scratches on their bodies with blades. He introduced a boy, Nadeem, who showed his "drilled legs".

Chacha Mansoor declared that "Chanda (fund) politics" has been ended and the party will be run

on its own resources. He said that in the area every shopkeeper was compelled to pay Chanda worth about Rs. 15,000 per month in the past. Mansoor also brought on old woman whose young son was killed by the MQM people in the cell when the deceased was returning home bringing dowry for his sister.

In the area, he said, all the MQM loyals have escaped from their homes, while in the last day's fight they have arrested 30 people and handed them over to the police and Rangers.

The much-awaited army operation in Karachi finally materialised in a most unexpected way, with the non-army MQM dissidents leading the swoop on the forces of Altaf Hussain.

The idea of pitting the dissidents against MQM accomplished the most important objective of

depriving Altaf Hussain's followers of legitimacy to resist the operation.

Since Friday afternoon, resistance by MQM activists had begun to gradually crumble when they realised that while the dissidents were putting pressure from all sides, their backs were guarded by army and rangers.

The current phase of operation seems to involve the rounding up of the MQM rank and file before hitting at their huge ammunition depots. Surprisingly, this task is also being performed by the dissidents.

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Frontier Post

SATURDAY JUNE 20, 1992 ZILHAJ 18, 1412

5 killed, several wounded in MQM infighting

Curfew in some parts of Karachi : 2 MPAs join rebels

F.P. Bureau Report

KARACHI, June 19: At least five persons were killed and several others injured in early morning clashes between the two MQM groups following which curfew has been clamped in different areas of the metropolis. In a related development, two MPAs of MQM have shifted loyalties to the dissidents camp.

According to reports collected from all over the city, MQM dissidents moved into different parts of Karachi in a bid to challenge

oust them if possible. Five deaths have so far been confirmed, but some reports suggest a much higher death toll.

Soon after the attack, which came in all parts of the city at about 06:30 am, the affected areas resounded with automatic gunfire and announcements were made from mosque loudspeakers that 'Ghaddars' had entered the area with agencies' support for destruction, and should be shot at sight.

The unit and sector workers of the MQM erected road-blocks to check movement inside the affected areas and there was an atmosphere of siege. All the affected areas were cordoned off by the law-enforcing agencies including rangers, the police and army personnel. Movements in and out of these areas were completely blocked.

Towards early evening, dissident leader Aamir Khan held his first ever open press conference in Liaquatabad-4, in which two MQM MPAs also participated. One of them, Ahmed Salim Siddiqui, is MQM's parliamentary leader in Sindh Assembly and holds the important party office of deputy secretary information. Ahmed Salim Siddiqui won his seat from PS-80, Liaquatabad.

The other MPA, also representing Liaquatabad's PS-79, who participated in the press conference, was Mohammad Abid. Abid said he had left MQM because it had started exploiting the Mohajirs for the benefit of Altaf Hussain. Salim Siddiqui, however, was in low spirits. He did not speak on the occasion.

Former Sindh minister for transport and roads, who was

by MQM dissident activists.

Curfew impose: According to APP curfew was imposed in the jurisdiction of six police stations in district east with effect from 5 p.m. on Friday.

The police stations are: Brigade, Shah Faisal Colony, Model Colony, Malir Extension, Malir Colony and Landhi Sectors 37 and 6, it was officially announced.

According to Abbasi Shaheed Hospital sources 13, cases of fire-arm injuries were brought from Liaquatabad, Jacob Lines, Lines area, and Jamshed quarter for treatment. Three of them Kashif, Shahid and Munir succumbed to injuries, doctors said. Nine are still under treatment at the hospital. Injured are still pouring in.

Edhi sources claimed that two unknown persons were shot dead this morning and five injured in Landhi and Korangi.

They said the injured were sent to Jinnah Hospital for treatment.

Meanwhile, informed sources said some persons have been rounded up in this connection.

AFP adds: Troops and paramilitary rangers cordoned off parts of Karachi on Friday after tension within an ethnic party suddenly turned violent, leaving several dead and injured.

Ambulance sources said the casualties came when dissident activists of the Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) forcibly took over a party office. Sporadic firing began in the Landhi and Malir areas in the industrial eastern district where the MQM dissidents moved against the office.

Aqeel Ahmed, a party finance official was shot dead while an-

MQM

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two members of the Sindh Provincial Assembly were missing, but he could not identify them. Badar Iqbal, a former provincial transport minister, who was expelled from the MQM last year, said by telephone that "we are in full control of the situation and grateful to the people for their response".

Dissidents have the support of some sitting members of the party in the national and provincial assemblies.

The founding leader of the MQM, Altaf Hussain, who expelled Iqbal and others, is currently in London, reportedly for medical treatment.

Meanwhile, the MQM's ruling faction asked its supporters to come out and resist the dissidents.

As troops and paramilitary rangers remained on alert, both main MQM factions responded to the clashes by closing iron gates at key points, effectively sealing off various neighbourhoods. Officials

By Ali Abbas

Will the measures taken by the MQM leadership and the Jam administration contain the crisis within MQM ranks?

MQM: The War Within

On a flight that left from Karachi airport for New York in the early hours of February 27 were three of the MQM's top leaders: Badar Iqbal, ex-transport minister, and leader of the MQM's 27 MPAs in the Sindh assembly who had been forced to resign his assembly seat a few days earlier, Afaq Ahmed and Amir Khan, ex-joint secretaries of the MQM, who had headed the MQM's militant wing for years. The immigration counter raised objections to Badar Iqbal's departure since he did not have the requisite NOC. A senior government official reportedly intervened saying that the NOC was on its way. The departure of the three MQM leaders was the first public confirmation of the fact that the party is in serious disarray.

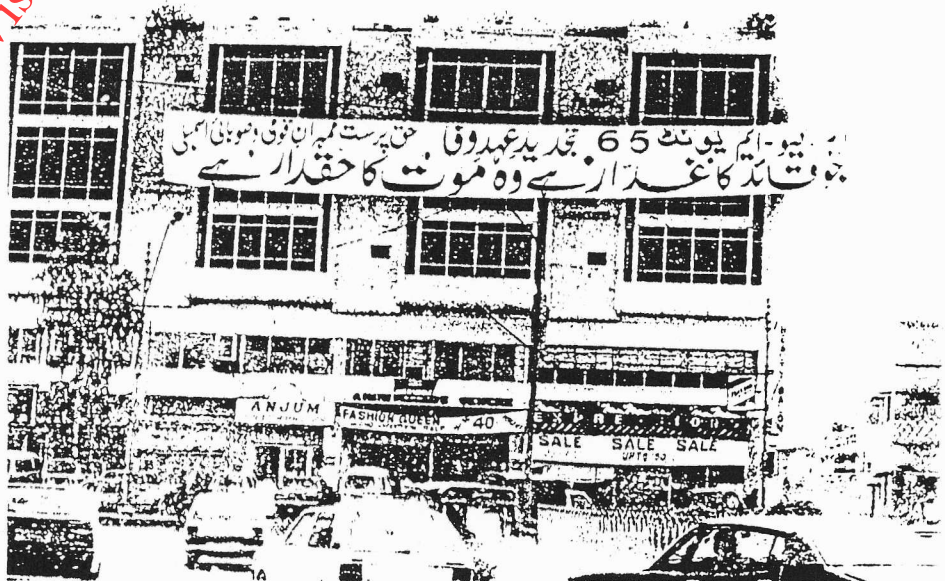
For the last few months, MQM unit secretaries have been calling meetings of their workers to tell them that there were traitors in their ranks who were being expelled from the party. Simultaneously, local papers have been carrying a barrage of aggressive statements aimed at dispelling the fact that something is seriously wrong in the MQM ranks.

With the divisions and dissensions in MQM ranks now an open secret, the Quaid-e-Tehrik is biding his time in Abbasi Shaheed Hospital with an illness which insiders say has more to do with psychological pressure than his kidneys. From the first floor of Abbasi Shaheed

Hospital, which has virtually been turned into a de facto Markaz, Altaf Hussain is fighting the most serious threat to his leadership yet.

The official MQM version of the Badar Iqbal episode is that he was forced to resign on corruption charges. Afaq Ahmed and Amir Khan were his accomplices. An impression is being created that the trio fled the country without the knowledge of the central command, after embezzling party funds. But MQM inside sources and independent observers allege

that the three left the country as part of a deal struck with the central command, which wanted them out, because they were leading the dissent within MQM ranks. In a letter printed in *Dawn* on March 5, Badar Iqbal wrote from the US that he had been forced to resign from his seat and leave the country because his life was in danger. So serious was the split in the party that in some areas a parallel MQM existed. According to MQM dissidents, its activists are reportedly on a hit list given to the administration by the



■ MQM banner on Shahrah-e-Quaideen: Dire warnings from a desperate leadership.

By Husain Aaser

Infighting within the MQM now pits its own well-armed militant cadres against the central leadership.

An Armed Rebellion



In the last week of August, MQM chief Altaf Hussain met the caretaker chief minister of Sindh, Jam Sadiq Ali, and handed over a list of 169 top MQM

activists. "I want them arrested by your administration," he reportedly demanded. Of the 169 persons on the list, 104 were from Karachi and 65 from Hyderabad. Soon after the meeting the Sindh administration launched a province-wide hunt for those on the list and arrested some of them. The rest have apparently gone underground.

Why did Altaf Hussain want his own partymen arrested? In a sense, the MQM's chickens are coming home to roost. The same armed gangs which formed the party's fighting force are now up in arms against the party leadership.

Altaf's request for government intervention was confirmation of the fact that the MQM is no longer the uncompromisingly monolithic force it used to be. Many MQM activists have drifted away from the party over the last two years, or formed dissident groups within its ranks.

The disaffection within MQM ranks stems from several factors, all of them arising, in one way or another, from the nature and growth of the organisation.

When the MQM came into being it was under threat not only from the Jamaat-i-Islami's "Thunder Squad" (a group of armed militants) but also from various other ethnic communities in Sindh, who saw the rise of the mohajir community as a direct threat to their economic interests in Sindh.

To combat this the MQM began inducting various Urdu-speaking professional criminals into its ranks to protect mohajir interests in urban Sindh. Also, it became increasingly difficult for small-time criminals like gambling den operators and drug pushers to operate independently in areas dominated by the MQM. So a number of criminals who had earlier been operating individually, soon began operating under the umbrella of the MQM. They became the strike force of the organisation and were given the task of training the MQM's younger cadre in the use of arms and arranging a regular flow of sophisticated arms for the party.

Money was the biggest hurdle in arranging arms and ammunition for the organisation. The funds which the MQM received from its supporters were too insignificant to finance an arms build-up. To generate more funds, the job of "fund-raising" was

assigned to the party's "toughies;" they reportedly raised the money through kidnappings or dacoities. In the initial days the "fund-raisers" were allowed to keep a major share of the booty. But with large sums of money coming in, party funds have become a source of dispute in several areas. "How can you expect a professional criminal to remain honest and give his entire booty to any organisation?" asks an MQM activist.

With criminal elements active in the organisation, the MQM soon turned into a powerful militant organisation equipped with sophisticated weapons and specialising in street-gang warfare. This militia was used by the MQM to paralyse the state machinery whenever the need arose.

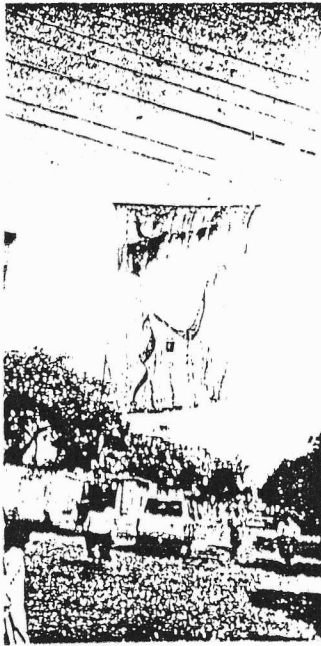
However, after the November '88 elections in which the MQM emerged as the second major political force in Sindh, the central leadership tried to bring the criminal elements in its ranks under control, financially and organisationally. This belated effort at discipline proved unsuccessful. Some MQM workers who were initiated into crime for 'ideological purposes' have now turned professionals, embarrassing the party leaders. Many of them are also resentful of the fact that the MQM has not done anything about the criminal cases registered against them for actions performed while they were on 'party duty'. Disagreements between the leadership and their erstwhile supporters frequently came to be settled violently.

The rift within the MQM has become dangerous enough over the last 20 months for the central leadership to resort to calling in the local administration in a desperate bid to take care of its dissidents. But this attempt to staunch the disintegration in its

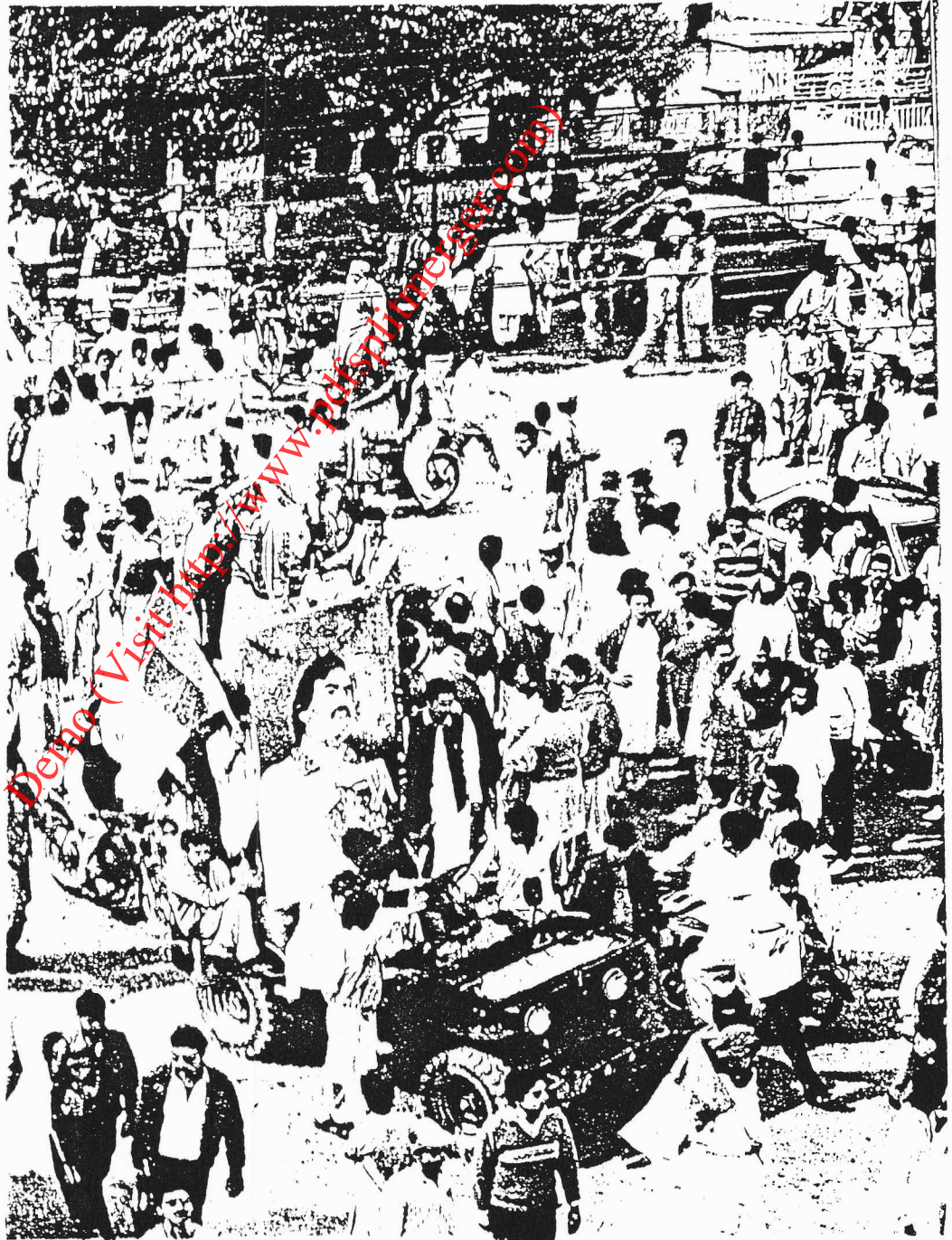
In the MQM, differences with the leadership have always been hushed up. Publicly, dissidents have been blamed either for misappropriation of funds or working for the police. Many workers who disagreed with the party have allegedly been taught a severe lesson.

By Hassan Mehdi

Day of the Dissidents



The recent outbreaks of firing in Karachi were more than just a routine affair. Ominously, they represent the spillover of the feud between the MQM and its dissidents on to the streets of the metropolis...



From Mohajir to Muttahida

By Husain Aaser

The Battle Within

The recent sacking of an MQM minister is the culmination of a bitter feud between the militant wing and top leadership of the party. The rancorous bust-up now threatens the very survival of the MQM...

On the night of February 9, the MQM chief, Altaf Hussain, was admitted to the Abassi Shaheed Hospital. It appears his condition had suddenly deteriorated after he had attended one of the most stormy meetings ever to be held by the MQM's central committee. This meeting, held in the afternoon, discussed the corruption charges levelled by the Sindh government against the party's provincial transport

minister, Badar Iqbal. Nearly all the office-bearers of the MQM's central cabinet, including leaders of the MQM's militant wing, Aamir Khan and Afaq Ahmed, were present at this meeting.

When the members of the cabinet accused Badar Iqbal of taking ten million rupees from the transporters' lobby to allow an increase in fares, the provincial minister not only denied this allegation but in turn blamed other members of the cabinet of spending the party's funds on buying property and throwing lavish

valimas.

The MQM's vice chairman and MNA, Saleem Shazad, was the first to come under attack. Speaking on the occasion, Iqbal asked Shazad to tell the rest of the members how he had arranged for 200,000 rupees to spend on his valima, held in December, and of the other properties he allegedly owns in Karachi and Islamabad. During the discussion, both Aamir Khan and Afaq Ahmed began siding with Iqbal. At this point, Shazad accused both of them of taking 50 million rupees from the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) to destroy the present MQM.

After this, it was a free for all, with all three, in turn, accusing each and every member of the cabinet of corruption and of spending the party's money for their personal gains. In the charged atmosphere, the MQM chief, Altaf Hussain, even came under attack. He was accused of having a partnership in a hotel owned by his brother-in-law in the United States. Altaf appeared so shocked by this allegation that he left the meeting immediately and was eventually hospitalised in the evening. But inside sources allege that the real reason behind his illness was the deep anxiety he was undergoing over the sharp rift that had appeared within his party.

The present rift in the MQM is not a new phenomenon. The

schism in the organisation dates back to December 1988, when the party decided to share power with the People's Party government. After coming to power, it is alleged that the Bihari faction of the party, headed by Saleem Shehzad, started asserting its importance by deputing Bihari youth to key positions at the area level. Soon after the break-up of the alliance with the PPP, however, the MQM, with the help of its militant wing headed by Aamer Khan and Afaq Ahmed, launched a campaign of destruction to dismantle the government for its betrayal of the MQM.

Until the fall of the PPP government on August 6, the militant wing was in total command of all the affairs of the party. The real crack in the MQM started appearing following the decision to join the IJI government. The final blow to the faction came when the party's central leadership decided to change the name of the organisation from Mohajir to Mutahidda. This was done not only to enter the national political mainstream.

The party's militant wing and a majority of the party's lower cadre vociferously opposed this idea. The militant wing, whose *raison d'être* was mohajir nationalism, appeared to be the most affected. On a number of occasions, both militant leaders reportedly informed the party higher-ups about the resentment brewing over the decision, but this warning fell on deaf ears.

Because of the ongoing rift between Biharis and those from the UP, a feeling among the militant group has gained ground that their people are only used for fighting with the police and to fill jails, while the Biharis are allegedly influencing the party's policy decisions and are also the major beneficiaries. Furthermore, both militant leaders allege that Saleem Shehzad, the blue-eyed boy of Altaf Hussain, is not only unnecessarily interfering in their work, but is also appointing workers of his own choosing in influential positions.

In December, as the idea of



Chief Minister Jam Sadiq visiting MQM leader Altaf Hussain in hospital: Cordial relations

By Mazhar Abbas

The Last Straw?

The recent student killings have injected fresh venom into the ongoing Jamaat-MQM battle for Karachi...

Will the Jamaat-i-Islami withdraw its support from the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad? Will the Jamaat demand the removal of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement from the government, or will it continue its support, despite the killing of four of its activists in Karachi?



An IJT activist: brutally murdered

These are only some of the question being asked after what happened in Karachi from February 24-26. Many observers agree that it was not totally unexpected, if one considers the kind of the relationship that the Jamaat and the MQM — and, of course, their respective student wings — have had for the past several years.

On February 23, the student wings clashed yet again at the Government Polytechnic College, SITE, leaving two IJT

students, Aamir Abbas and Saad bin Salah, dead and 14 others injured. The very next day, two persons — KTC driver Mehmood Ahmed and Faisal of the IJT — were killed in police firing.

The violence continued. The same night, unknown persons opened fire at the Jamaat office on Burns Road when a meeting of JI shoora was in session. The nazim of the JI, City was seriously wounded and succumbed to his injuries the next morning.

The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad and the All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organisation are presently the strongest student groups in Karachi, and both have lost members in clashes over the last couple of years. Despite the efforts of some sane elements in each of the two warring sides, peace has not yet been restored and there is no likelihood of amity in the near future.

The same is true for the JI and the MQM. Both parties are close to Nawaz Sharif, or with the IJI as a whole, but still cannot tolerate each other.

Oposing the alleged exploitation of Islam by parties like the Jamaat and the JUP has been a leading slogan of MQM politics in the recent past. At the same time, the JI has been trying its level best since 1986 to make a comeback in the urban areas of Sindh, and the only major hurdle in its path has been the MQM. So, with obviously crucial political interest at stake, it is near impossible that

the two parties will accord each other respect in common constituencies.

The killing of five persons, with four belonging to one party, is not an ordinary incident. Therefore, as expected, the entire leadership of the Jamaat — from Amir Qazi Hussain Ahmed to MNAs and MPAs — retaliated with harsh criticism of the MQM and the Sindh government.

They also put certain demands before the federal government, conditions that must be met if the latter desires the future cooperation of the Jamaat. One such demand, which could be an awkward one, is that the prime minister visit Karachi, conduct personal inquiries and initiate appropriate action against the MQM.

So far, the Jamaat has been keeping a relatively low profile, even though its naib amir, Professor Ghafoor Ahmed — who is also the secretary general of the IJI — has threatened to launch a movement throughout the country if Jamaat-IJT demands are not accepted. Jamaat leaders also held a meeting with the chief minister of Sindh, Jam Sadiq Ali, who the party also blames for the explosive situation.

Sources claim that high-level talks became possible only after interference from Islamabad. The arrival of Federal Minister Malik Naeem in Karachi, and his subsequent negotiations with the Jamaat, the Sindh government and the

MQM, clearly indicates that the federal government is not happy with the rising tension between the Jamaat and the MQM. The crisis in Karachi was also discussed in the IJI parliamentary party meeting in Islamabad on March 4.

But this time things are more serious. Four activists have been killed, including a local nazim of the Jamaat. The Jamaat now has to satisfy its student wing, which is not ready for any compromise. Consequently, the Jamaat currently finds itself in one of the most trying situations it has faced since it entered into the coalition with the Pakistan Muslim League and the other parties in the IJI.

For Nawaz Sharif, severing links with the MQM is no easy task. The mohajir ethnic group still has a firm grip on urban politics in Sindh, and the Jamaat cannot possibly be expected to provide an equally effective alternative.

However, any upheaval in the IJI due to a Jamaat exit would be a personal loss for Nawaz Sharif. The Pakistan Muslim League cannot give the IJI the organisational network which the Jamaat is so efficiently delivering. The prime minister could also face trouble in the Punjab if the Jamaat decides to leave the alliance.

Meanwhile, the four-point formula for a possible JI-MQM patch-up brought from Islamabad by Malik Naeem is not working. Both parties are still issuing strong statements against each other, and the situation is still too tense for colleges to be reopened. Although additional Rangers have been deployed, the administration expects more clashes if colleges are in session.

Perhaps the only solution in sight is to get the affected groups — the Jamaat, the MQM, the IJT and the APMSO — to sit down together at the negotiation table and hammer out an agreement acceptable to all. Given the gravity of the situation, it is now up to the prime minister and Jam to resolve the issue at both the political and student level. And save Karachi from more political killings. ■

Sibghat Ali warns that the MQM's internal tensions may turn violent

The situation is a wee bit more ugly than it was last year. Some informed people fear violence in the streets, if the MQM fails to control the power-struggle within itself. In that event, it may even turn to intimidating its own supporters and patrons, in order to control dissent.

Mr Badar Iqbal, the provincial transport minister, has clearly explained his resignation. In letters to Sindh Assembly Speaker and Sindh Governor, which were published by a Karachi daily, Mr Badar says his resignation was obtained under duress and against his wishes. He could not resist the pressure as his life was in danger, the letters said.

The letters were apparently written on Feb 25, five days after all haqparast MPAs handed over their resignations to the MQM Chairman. But the dissident's version is being contradicted by party spokesmen. "Mr Badar has been charged for corruption and sacked by the party", says Mr Tariq Mahmood, a haqparast federal minister.

Mr Badar Iqbal is the first person in the MQM who has dared to give his version. Over the past few years, scores of people who wished to give up their "duties" have been sacked from the organisation and packed off to the United States, but they have all maintained complete silence about the reasons which forced them to part with the party.

Besides Badar Iqbal, who was a joint secretary, other two joint secretaries Mr Afaq Ahmed and Mr Aamir Khan have also been implicated by the party in corruption charges. "They were thought to be partners of the minister and have left the country", says Mr Mahmood.

The two joint secretaries Aamir Khan and Afaq Ahmed were not ordinary workers in the organisation. They commanded powerful positions and enjoyed the confidence and backing of the Quaid. Mr Altaf Hussain is on record for taking their names as examples of sincerity and discipline (discipline here means blind faith). It was Afaq Ahmed, popularly called "Field Marshal" in the organisation, who was sent to Hyderabad about two years ago to sort out the differences between local leaders and organisers. His recommendations were apparently accepted and as soon as he went back to Karachi, Tariq Jawad was nominated in charge of Hyderabad affairs.

Tariq Jawad, senior vice-chairman and provincial local bodies minister, has since then earned the reputation of being "an extremely rude, ill-behaved and unpolished bihari". He almost never meets party workers or journalists. MQM workers have complained of being ridiculed and humiliated by his guards. Being a bihari, he also comes under criticism for his wealth. But the fact that he is continuing in office is indicative of the

faith that the MQM hierarchy had in the person who recommended him.

Afaq was such a dedicated worker and so committed to the party directives that his co-workers used to call him "Insaniyat Ka Dushman" because of his callousness, strong nerves, ability to take and execute spontaneous decisions. Aamir Khan's command and control over his comrades was unchallengeable. They had played key roles in organising the militants. All the arms used to be under their control and they were free to decide to use them wherever they deemed fit", says a former MQM supporter.

Badar Iqbal, Aamir Khan, and Afaq Ahmad are apparently being supported by some other dissidents as well, which include some prominent females in the MQM. But they have maintained a low profile so far despite having a fair amount of control over Landhi and Orangi

Badar Iqbal, Aamir Khan, and Afaq Ahmad are apparently being supported by some other dissidents as well, which include some prominent females in the MQM. But they have maintained a low profile so far despite having a fair amount of control over Landhi and Orangi, two of the MQM's biggest pockets in Karachi. Their supporters are said have challenged all MQM leaders except Altaf Hussain to visit the area if they claim to enjoy the people's support. It is one of the few developments in the

MQM which the party has not been able to explain away with its conspiracy theories.

Interestingly, the latest conspiracy theory developing within the MQM is about Jam Sadiq Ali's possible involvement in the rift. Jam Sadiq has also been vociferously toeing the MQM's official line on corruption, apparently to dismiss Mr Iqbal's resignation as a valid ouster. During a visit to the hospital to Mr Altaf Hussain recently, he said whoever was found involved in corruption would be taken to task. "I have asked the inspection team to investigate corruption cases fearlessly", he added. However, he

refused to talk about the involvement of his minister in corruption.

One theory about such statements is that Jam sahib is trying to help the organisation against a few individual dissidents. But another, this one subscribed to by Sindhi nationalists, speculates that he can make the nationalists happy by keeping the MQM leaders involved in infighting.

The one gaining currency most rapidly is that a certain section of the MQM is trying to conspire up to the CM, indirectly

dently of the organisation's hierarchy, and has initiated a move against Mr Iqbal and his colleagues because the latter never got along with Jam Sadiq. For example, recently there was a big fuss in Hyderabad about sale of public property. Some MQM ministers had questioned why large open spaces were being sold off at throw-away prices. The scheme to convert Tarachand Hospital into a shopping plaza became another point of contention. Almost all the MQM councillors had stayed away from the issue, although all of them knew those behind these deals. Some reports say that important figures in the MQM's hierarchy were involved in that sale. And those who tried to question them were immediately dispensed with.

Meanwhile, the theory that the MQM has developed differences over changing its name, and hence character, from Mohajir Qasmi Movement to Mohajidda Qasmi Movement, has collapsed. "The organisation had frequently changed its policies and stands but their has never been any dissent", says one MQM watcher. "This is an idea that could easily be sold to the people."

If it is not just ideological differences that are threatening to rip through the MQM, then the coming weeks may see the organisation's internal problems spilling out on the streets, bloodily.



Dissenters go on record

Mystery shrouds Altaf's illness as people fear violent split

A mystery shrouds the hospital at Karachi, where the MQM leader Altaf Hussain is admitted for treatment. Frail old men and visibly agitated young ones can be seen queuing up outside and all around the ward of the Quaid. Although Altaf Hussain is occupying one room on the first floor, a complete block of the hospital has been declared 'prohibited zone' for everyone. Security arrangements are being handled exclusively by the Haq-trust Security Guards, equipped with fireless sets and automatic weapons. Armed guards stand on both sides of the visitors' queue after every ten steps. Everyone, except those personally known to the leaders and the security guards, is searched thoroughly before being allowed inside. Visitors are required to submit their addresses. Even families with women and children are not let through unchecked.

Dozens of banners hang all around the area, giving the impression that elections in some workers union are being conducted in an industrial unit. The banners scream loyalty to the Quaid, praying for his early recovery. Outside the hospital, similar slogans are painted on the walls.

Something is seriously wrong with the MQM. Almost everyone can feel it. But nobody knows what is happening.

The protracted illness of the Quaid has rekindled millions of rumours about Altaf Hussain's control over the organisation. Such rumours are even being murmured in the long queues of the Quaid's well-wishers. Everyone has his own theory. But the iron curtain of secrecy around the organisation's internal politics is not letting anything come through.

The MQM hierarchy has, for the first time, developed serious differences over the organisation's politics, goes one rumour.

Sibghat Ali visits Karachi to check out Altaf Hussain's mysterious illness and the gossip doing the rounds in the city's back alleys



It is the war they can't make sense of, says one person. No, it is their relationship with Jam Sadiq which has caused the split, says another. No, the khakis want the MQM to put pressure on Mian Nawaz Sharif to change his Gulf policy, ventures yet another. Nothing is confirmed. Nothing can be confirmed.

The MQM has developed a reputation for doing politics for immediate gains, disregarding all principles, breaking promises, betraying well-wishers and stabbing friends in the back. The Quaid's illness, oddly enough, is making many people remember

the MQM's changing positions over the past few years. How can it develop any differences over issues or political principles, people ask. Most of the time, it is led by the sentiments of its activists and supporters without any of its leaders giving the party-line on a given issue. For example, after the war started in the Gulf, the MQM decided to ride the wave of pro-Saddam sentiment without really examining the issues involved. It is the sort of an organisation which can formally observe Gen Zia's death anniversary and host a reception for Benazir Bhutto on the same day.

The MQM's differences with Jam Sahib's administration are more of a myth, being lovingly nurtured by a frustrated opposition, than real. According to outside observers, it is a relationship of corruption under a political umbrella which allows Jam Sadiq to keep the MQM happy by giving its gurus the powers and privileges that they want. These "privileges" often flow from the barrel of the gun.

The MQM enjoys an equal share in the provincial government. The "government of minorities" in Sindh is doing well for itself under the benign gaze of the ruling troika. Ministries that really matter at the street level, like the local bodies, housing, town planning, public health engineering, education, aqaf, etc. are in the MQM's control. The way Jam pays tributes to Altaf Hussain and his "rufaqa" in extending their cooperation belies the possibility of there being differences between the two.

Then what is Altaf Hussain's illness all about? Few are willing to believe that he is, actually, ill. "Illness does not leave anyone capable of issuing press statements every day nor does it allow one to meet hundreds of visitors every day", says one MQM watcher. A doctor goes even further. "Even a healthy person will fall ill if he has to lie in bed all day and shake hands with hundreds of people." This may not be an illness but a personal crisis that Altaf is fighting against. Some of the slogans being painted on Karachi's walls these days have never been seen before. "Quaid kay sang, aman ho ya jang" can be seen on millions of stickers and posters plastered all over Karachi. The badges being worn by the Quaid's supporters betray more. "Jo quaid ka nafarmaan hai, qoum ka ghaddar hai", says one. "Quaid ka ghaddar, qoum ka shaitan hai", says another. "Quaid per emman hai", reads yet another. What forced party workers to prepare such stickers, badges, banners and slogans? Why are recent statements from MQM leaders loaded

Demo (http://www.mqmuniversity.com)

The MQM in-fighting

March 14, 1991, VIEWPOINT

THE IN-FIGHTING in the MQM going on for some time, was brought into the open last Friday by Chairman Azim Ahmed Tariq when he announced the expulsion of 18 key leaders from the party. He hinted that these expelled had conspired to assassinate the 'Quaid', Altaf Hussain, and that certain Government agencies were also involved in the plot. He also cast doubts on the role of the Sindh Chief Minister in this connection.

and expressed dissatisfaction with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The expelled leaders include three powerful joint secretaries, Bader Iqbal, Afaq Ahmed and Amir Khan; in-charge of Zone E Mujtaba Khan; in-charge of Zone A Naem Hashmat; Zonal committee members Mahmood, Khalid and Rehman; in-charge of the Landhi Sector, Zubair Ahmed; in-charge of the Federal B Area sector Rafiq Shaikh; in-charge of the Liaquatabad sector Sardar Ahmed; Liaquatabad Sector Committee members Asif, Javed Bhaiya

and Naveed; Finance Secretary Zone C Amir Ahmed Guddu; Councillor Malir Asif Hafeez; and Vice-Chairman Zonal Municipal Committee East, Moosa Khan.

Workers warned

Party workers have been warned against establishing any contact with the expelled members; anyone found doing so would be expelled, Azim Tariq said. He added that these members had conspired among themselves and with "certain Government agencies" to assassinate Altaf Hussain and destroy the MQM. A special appeal addressed to the people of Liaquatabad, Landhi, Malir, Faisal Colony and Korangi to stay loyal to the MQM by the Chairman shows that the revolt against the leadership was widespread in these areas.

Azim Ahmed Tariq alleged that efforts were made to buy the loyalty of the MQM members of the Provincial Assembly. He did not name those involved in this transaction but left no doubt about their identity. Azim Tariq disclosed that Altaf Hussain had asked Jam Sadiq about the whereabouts of Badar Iqbal who was seen with the Chief Minister in Islamabad two days before he was reported to have fled the country. Allegations of involvement of Government agencies was a further pointer to the suspects.

Azim Tariq did not stop at the Sindh Government: he pointed an accusing finger also at the Prime Minister, saying that Mr. Nawaz Sharif had called on an influential personality of Sindh (the Makhdoom of Hala) and inquired about his health but had made it a point to ignore Altaf Hussain who had been sick for more than a

month. What does this indicate, Azim Tariq inquired. (Promptly, Mr. Nawaz Sharif went to see the MQM leader on Sunday and declared that any conspiracy against the MQM would be a conspiracy against the country.)

For more than a month, Karachi city's biggest hospital, the Abbasi Shaheed Hospital, has been the headquarters of the MQM where more attention is being paid to the MQM leader and his companions who come to console him than to ordinary patients. MQM activists remain assembled at the hospital either to pay homage to their leader or to participate in one or other bed-side meeting. The whole of the first floor is in the MQM's use. For about four years the hospital has been exclusively reserved for Mohajirs: during the ethnic riots, non-Mohajirs had found it impossible to get admission there. They went to the Civil Hospital. Recently, the Jamaat-i-Islami has complained that its injured workers, although all Mohajirs, were not allowed admission to the Hospital.

'Death for treason'

Huge banners have appeared all over the city proclaiming "Jo quaid ka ghaddar hai, voh maut ka haqdar hai" (those disloyal to the Quaid deserve death). In view of the apprehension of the MQM infighting spilling over into the streets, police and Rangers have set up picket posts at important street intersections. Loyalists of Altaf Hussain launched a campaign throughout the urban areas of Sindh for observing a yomi-i-tajdeed-i-ahd-o-vafa (a day of renewal of loyalty and commitment). Workers gathered at zonal and sector offices and swore loyalty to the Quaid and death to the "traitors".

About the resignation of Minister Badar Iqbal, Jam Sadiq Ali confirmed what the MQM had been saying -- that the Minister was asked to quit because he was involved in corruption. What the MQM and the Jam have failed to explain is why the allegedly corrupt Minister was not prosecuted and instead was assisted to go into exile to the USA.

Observers say that what is happening today under the IJI Government is quite unprecedented: such things have never happened before in the history of this benighted land.

The Sindh Chief Minister has the knack, and Islamabad the ready willingness, to legalise and institutionalise everything that was so far considered legally criminal and politically immoral.

After having regularised political kidnapping, having practised it with perfect impunity several times during the various electoral contests of the Sindh Assembly and having gained approval from the bosses in Islamabad, the Chief Minister has now moved to rewarding the officers who had helped him in his grand scheme of eliminating the PPP.

Speaking at the annual function of the Civil Services Academy Alumni, Sindh, the Chief Minister announced that every civil officer

would be given two plots so that he could build a house of his own. Elaborating his generous offer, he said: "I do permit that they (civil officers) should sell one plot and construct (a house on) the other."

Decision defended

The decision is defended on the ground that in their present pay-scales, the officers could not build houses of their own. The consideration is laudable. But why is it limited to officers?

Until now the practice of acquiring several plots by officers through their own official influence in the name of family members and later selling them at inflated prices was considered both irregular and immoral. The distinction between legal and illegal and moral and immoral is now being obliterated by the Chief Minister, who vowed to be virtuous after his penance during the last Umrah. The policy of two plots is being widely practised in the defence forces since the days of Gen. Zia.

Among the 50,000 or so Government employees in Sindh, most of the officers, who may be a couple of thousand -- even less if the latest favour is meant to be restricted to Grade 16 and above as seems to be the case -- come from families who are already well-off, have big houses and also have discretionary powers to enrich themselves through the use of official influence. The bulk of the employees is deprived of a living wage and do not have the clout to make themselves rich. But they are not likely to benefit from the Chief Minister's generosity because their number is too large. Moreover, their collaboration in the execution of Establishment-assigned "jobs" can be automatically ensured if their superiors are made willing, rather enthusiastic, partners. This is exactly what the Chief Minister has in view.

The plots to be allotted to the officers are developed with public money. The officers will sell the second plot to the public at black-market prices. The general public, which will pay for the officers' palaces, may be more distressingly in need of houses than the favourites of the Jam. The State, at present engaged in political kidnapping, will also be encouraging land speculation and black-marketing.

But the MQM-Jam Government does not feel at all embarrassed at

the exposure of its white lies and it still persists in its brazen faced "rape democracy" campaign. All the newspapers are by now full of stories of MPAs' "kidnappings" but Islamabad and the Jam continue to feign ignorance and deny the State's hand in the despicable crime.

Four PDA MPAs have been missing for more than a fortnight. The family members say they were car-

ried away by the police. The Sindh Government has denied these reports and feigns complete ignorance about the 'missing MPAs' whereabouts. However, on March 4, the PPP released a photostat copy of the Mukhtiar and FCR, Pano Aqil, dated February 26, which allowed remand in police custody for seven 'more' days at least of one of the four missing MPAs, Sardar Haji Khan.

Why this immunity?

THE news that a Sindh Minister accused of corruption has been divested of his office and allowed to leave the country makes strange reading. Explaining the reasons, the Federal Housing Minister, Mr. Tariq Mahmud, a leader of the MQM, told Dawn that Mr. Badar Iqbal, who was known to be involved in corruption, was made to quit his cabinet post and provincial assembly membership and that he, along with two other Mr. Aamir Khan and Mr. Asaf, had "left for the United States with the permission of the MQM Central Command".

The whole episode of Mr. Badar Iqbal's 'forced' resignation and quiet exit out of the country is bound, once again, to raise uncomfortable questions as to the credibility of this particular brand of accountability that is practised. Invariably, public representatives have been made to stand trial for abuses and irregularities only when they have gone out of power....

Mr Badar Iqbal's sudden and mysterious departure from the scene would appear stunning, precisely at a time when a former prime minister and several of her ministers and aides are facing references and court trials for alleged misuse of power and other transgressions. In the present case, too, the people would like to know the precise nature of the charges, and the reason why the government deemed it fit to let the accused leave the country quietly and not be held accountable for corruption. — DAWN, March 14

MQM phenomenon

The MQM continues to be pampered in a manner that has no precedent. A provincial MQM Minister, described by a senior MQM leader as corrupt, and three of his accomplices were helped to escape to America which is being used as a safe haven by all sort of mafias. No charge, no FIR; not even a Presidential reference.

Since it became an IJI partner, the MQM has split into numerous factions. Its multiple fractures result from squabbles over a division of the spoils of office, charges of embezzlement of funds collected for welfare schemes, quarrels over who

should control party offices or dens where dissidents are disciplined, even eliminated, in the best fascist tradition. The ailing leader of an ailing party lives in a five-star hospital, guarded by special squads of APMSO goons, for fear that disaffected party-men or a State agency may try to wipe out the fuhrer. What is going on? If the MQM ex Minister was really planning to assassinate Altaf Bhai, why does Government not ask for his extradition from the States?

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LAHORE

NATIONAL DAIL

MQM split & its likely consequences

On the face of it, Pakistan now has a balanced picture in Sindh. Just as the Sindhi leadership has been divided over how the province's political crisis should be resolved, now MQM too will be non-monolithic. The deadlock that has persisted in Sindh, and which has allowed Islamabad to commit blunders with impunity, has been to the disadvantage of the Sindhis because of the negative unity in the ranks of the MQM. Purely at the level of theory, after the MQM schism, it should be easier to break the deadlock than it has been in the times of Jam Sadiq and his political heirs.

But reality may be different. The MQM division may develop into an urban war with the rebels wooing the constituency that has belonged solidly to Altaf Hussain. It may mean scaling up the anti-Sindhi rhetoric rather than scaling it down. The charisma of Altaf Hussain, unchallenged over many years, will be removed by any new

leadership in the MQM at the cost of a great psychological wrench. People who develop nostalgia about Altaf Hussain at the apogee of his power, will be attracted to leaders who mobilise them in reference to the Great Leader. And the presence of Altaf Hussain in London will have more effect than his presence would have had, had he been personally overthrown by the rebels.

The on-going army operation in the province will be a great impediment to the free-for-all that might develop between the supporters of the two groups in the MQM. In a way, the rebellion will help the operation become even-handed, which it has not been so far. Since two important MQM MPAs have sided with the rebels, it would be possible to create a more balanced coalition in the Sindh Assembly. If an MQM backlash against the rebels, supported by Altaf Hussain through remote control, is prevented from becoming effective by the pres-

ence of the army, it is possible that more MQM MPAs may become outspoken in their 'objections' to the coercive leadership of Altaf Hussain. That will facilitate a dialogue within the assembly, relieve some of the pressure that the PPP MPAs have been suffering, and allow the federal government to arrange a new alignment of forces in Karachi.

On the other hand, Islamabad

COMMENT by Khaled Ahmed

may finally be obstructive to positive developments in Sindh. It should be remembered that the MQM rebels were the 'guests' of the federal government last year when they were on the run from the punitive action of Altaf Hussain. Altaf Hussain had frequently complained about the 'insincerity' of his friends in Islamabad. In this context, the PPP may be disappointed once again

after the lessening of Altaf Hussain's authority, just as they were disappointed after the demise of their other arch-enemy, Jam Sadiq Ali.

Under the changed conditions, the decisive element may still be the Sindh establishment, its government and bureaucracy, who have ruled the province on the basis of an understanding with the old MQM leadership. While the army tries to control the cities to prevent an urban MQM war, it may indirectly play an obstructive role in Altaf Hussain's efforts to stage a come-back. But, if at the same time, it decides to sit on the fence in relation to centre-province politics, the new development may redound to the advantage of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan who monopolises the grid these days.

It is not known how much support the rebels have in cities outside Karachi. If Hyderabad remains untouched by the schism, then other cities like Sukkur, may

complicate the situation. On the other hand, if the more extremist MQM elements in the other cities side with the rebels, the new MQM leadership may emerge as

more anti-Sindhi and less amenable to moderation. No matter how the dice falls, Islamabad will determine whether the rebellion helps in resolving the Sindh problem or not. If it remains politically inflexible, the dissolution of the charisma of Altaf Hussain will not be a positive development.

The new MQM leaders will not have the same kind of effect on the masses as Altaf Hussain. The Movement as such will be guided by a less fascist decision-making process than before. If political lessons have been learned on both sides, PPP and MQM will have individual leaders capable of communicating with one another. If these bridges are not built, the stranglehold of the centre and its favoured bureaucracy will increase to the detriment of both sides of the ethnic divide.